

As the day progressed, shots were heard throughout Brooklyn, and contemporary reports point out that groups of emboldened black men encountered groups of white men in armed units. The reports of the day's actions and later accounts by participants read like a list of shootings and deaths.<sup>106</sup> Hayden recounted several killings witnessed by Red Shirts. One claimed he saw 6 men shot and killed at the Cape Fear Lumber Company plant and buried in a nearby ditch. Another Red Shirt told Hayden that 9 were killed by a white man working as a sniper, killing the men as they fled a building after having shot at whites from inside. He also reported that a "youth" shot a "Negro rabble rouser" as the man stood on a dry goods box denouncing the whites near Fourth and Nixon. Hayden's accounting of the shootings also gives the only instance of a body being thrown into the Cape Fear. "An observer" told Hayden that a black man had been shot on the wharf and his body tossed into the river after he "sassed" two white men there.<sup>107</sup> Many of Hayden's accounts give geographical markers to place the shootings in town; however, many shooting anecdotes, as well as some found in the local papers, provide only for an individual being shot, particularly black men for failure to stop for patrols well into the evening hours of the tenth and the early morning hours of the eleventh.<sup>108</sup>

Throughout the day, the rest of town was mostly quiet while fighting raged in the

northern sections—"The fighting ... was way over in Brooklyn and except that every spare man in the neighborhood stood on the street corners adjacent [to their homes] with guns everything was quieter than Sunday."<sup>109</sup> Analysis of information on the day's activity reveals that only a few reported shootings occurred outside of the Brooklyn neighborhood. One, in particular, is disturbing because it demonstrated premeditation. Hayden stated that a black policeman named Perkins was killed as he left his home in the Dry Pond area by a Red Shirt who claimed he had waited four days to do the shooting.<sup>110</sup> Two other reported shootings, both related to black men who refused to stop for patrols, are the only other instances that describe shootings outside Brooklyn. One report cited by Hayden said that a black man was shot at Front and Princess after being warned not to pass a

---

<sup>109</sup> William Parsley to "Sal," November 12, 1898, Eccles Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

<sup>110</sup> The reference is the only record of this shooting and the only Perkins in the 1897 City Directory is Dennis Perkins, a black shoemaker who lived at 617 South Second Street. Perkins can be found alive in the 1900 Census at the same location and still working as a shoemaker. If this is the same man, he could have been appointed a special policeman during the pre-election Red Shirt parades but somehow managed to survive the riot and continued to live in a predominately white neighborhood in the home he owned. Perhaps the Red Shirt so angry at the policeman was arrested and later fined for his rowdy behavior in the days preceding the riot and wished to take his anger out on Perkins. This case presents a problem since the Red Shirt interviewed by Hayden clearly believes he shot and killed Perkins however the only Perkins that can be identified in the same area at the same time is clearly alive a year and a half after the riot, still living in a predominately white neighborhood. Perhaps this is an example of the trouble with accepting all of Hayden's writings without substantiation or that the Perkins in question was not listed in the city directory. Hayden, *WLI*, 93; 1897 *Wilmington City Directory*; 1900 Census; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 3, 1898; Higuchi 1897 Wilmington map.

---

<sup>106</sup> Hayden provided accounts of shootings that have not been corroborated by other sources. However, Hayden sought interviews with participants who were otherwise unheard in recollections of the members of the WLI's association or newspaper accounts.

<sup>107</sup> Hayden, *WLI*, 92.

<sup>108</sup> Hayden indicated that a deaf man was shot for failure to stop because he did not hear the command to halt. Hayden, *WLI*, 92; see also *Wilmington Messenger*, November 11, 1898 through November 15, 1898.